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JPRS-UIA-86-023

19 MAY 1986

USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 6, NOV-DEC 1985

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USSR REPORT

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 6, NOV-DEC 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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PUBLICATION DATA

English Title : THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA
No 6, November-December 1985

Russian Title : NARODY AZII I AFRIKI

Author(s) :

Editor(s) : A.A. Kutsenkov

Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "Nauka"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : November-December 1985

Signed to Press : 6 December 1985

Copies : 3,705

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy
literatury, 1985

12424

CSO: 1807/190

ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 85 pp 214-216

[Article summaries in English]

[Text] THE ARMS RACE AND SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERATED COUNTRIES

Yu.N. Alekseyev

The article demonstrates that the growing military expenditures run counter to the expansion of industrial and agricultural production and adversely affect the rate of accumulation. It is first and foremost the dearth of capital resources which makes the rate of growth in GNP insufficient. The arms race involves enormous nonproductive utilization of labor. The comparison of military expenditures with those for social needs demonstrates that development priorities are distorted. It also shows that the arms race causes great damage to the well-being of the masses. The article notes that the import of military technology and establishment of national military production increase dependence on the West and are a burden on the national economy. It pays special attention to the obstacles blocking the establishment of a New International Economic Order due to the arms race and growing tension.

The article draws the conclusion that the military expenses of liberated states impede their social progress. The vital interests of developing nations demand the arms race be stopped in order to pave the way for disarmament.

THE IDEAS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN LAOS

S.I. Ioanesyan

The article deals with the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism in the People's Republic of Laos and their translation into reality. The lessons of the Laotian revolution confirm the main patterns of the emergence of the socialist system. At the same time, these patterns are a reflection of the specific features of the national development of Laos, such as the low level of social development prior to the completion of the national democratic revolution and the correlation of class forces within the country. The Lao

People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), which led the Laotian revolution, borrows from the experience of fraternal communist parties and is guided in its tactics and strategy by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The political and economic practices of the Laotian revolution contribute to the further development of Marxist-Leninist teaching regarding the transition to socialism of one-time backward countries which have by-passed the capitalist stage of development.

The national and democratic revolution in Laos is the history of the extensive political and organizational activity of the LPRP in the masses, active military and political struggle against reaction both at home and abroad, and transition to the stage of socialist transformations and construction of the foundation of socialism.

At the present time the general line of the LPRP lies in gradually implementing the process of socialist construction. The party has been steadfastly bolstering solidarity and cooperation with all socialist countries. The consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other toilers, liquidation of exploitation and national inequality, and alliance with all progressive forces lay down a foundation for successfully building socialism in Laos.

PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN CAPITAL-SURPLUS OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES

A.A. Maksimov

The special position of the capital-surplus oil-exporting countries engaged in extensive export of capital in the world oil market and the unique nature of their development, that of virtually unlimited financial resources in conditions of backward economic structures, make it important to study them. Many researchers offer a one-sided interpretation of the economic changes occurring in these countries, emphasizing the high rates of GNP growth, diversification of the industry structure, and raising the standard of living. However, the article argues, the capital-surplus states failed to genuinely restructure their economies, achieve real diversification, and diminish dependence on the further increase in oil exported. On the one hand, reproduction requires more and more state subsidies which come from the export of oil. On the other, the 1970's saw the emergence of a new pattern of consumption, the latter also based on the export of oil for want of an adequate model of production.

The article notes that in the 1980's the restructuring of the economy will be limited due to the fact that the economic diversification achieved through the development of oil-refining, petrochemical, and nonoil sectors cannot be sustained except on the basis of the income from oil export.

In the context of the current trends in the world markets of petroleum products and petrochemicals, the construction of large-scale oil refineries and petroleum plants in the capital-surplus countries will not diminish the dependence on income from oil export. The above-mentioned countries will

remain buffer states in the world oil-refining and petrochemical market just as they are presently buffer states in the world oil market.

The rates of GNP growth will slacken in the capital-surplus oil-exporting countries. Their dependence on the production and export of crude oil will increase and their capability to act as buffer states will diminish. This will adversely affect the situation on the world oil market and will perpetuate the depression, thereby preventing a real increase in oil prices.

IDEOLOGICAL NEOCOLONIALISM AND THE UNESCO 'CRISIS'

V.V. Vakhrushev

The article reveals the real reasons for the American withdrawal from UNESCO and for Great Britain's intention to do the same. It demonstrates that their references to the drawbacks in the Program and activities of this body are a lame excuse. The article refutes these unsubstantiated charges. It is in this regard that it analyzes the efforts of the member-states and the leadership of the UNESCO Secretariat to raise the efficacy of the body and examines the way these issues were discussed at the 119th and the 120th regular sessions of the UNESCO Executive Board.

The article shows that only the United States and its close allies are unhappy with the UNESCO activities and today's emerging historical reality. Hence, the accusations of these states were rejected by the USSR, other socialist states, the vast majority of developing countries, and a number of capitalist states.

The article reaches the conclusion that UNESCO will surmount all obstacles created by the unconstructive position of the United States and Great Britain. It emphasizes that other states and world public opinion ought to back this body in its efforts to neutralize the attack on its activities launched by reactionary forces for the sake of world peace, detente, and equal international cooperation in science, culture, education, and exchange of information.

THE AFRICAN BLACKSMITH IN MYTH AND REALITY

V.B. Iordanskiy

The article associates the emergence of the blacksmith image in African mythology with the progress of African metallurgy. The discovery of smelting and the creation of various tools and weapons mythologized social consciousness. It is suggested that the position of the first blacksmith in African mythology was tantamount to the position of the blacksmith in real life. While the former acted as mediator between Heaven and the people, the latter was a mediator between the community and the world of mythology. The article emphasizes that in the process of labor, the blacksmith established relations with local forces, i.e., fire, land, etc.

This accounts for his exclusive position in peasant society. The mythologization of the real blacksmith furthered the projection of the first

blacksmith as a creator of culture and as a hero who helped people abandon the state of barbarity and reach the stage of social cohabitation.

THE GENESIS OF THE MANOR SYSTEM IN EARLY FEUDAL JAPAN

S.S. Paskov

The article analyzes the formation and main typological characteristics of the Japanese manor system from the 8th to the 12th century.

The transformation of the feudal structure into a social and economic formation prevailed in Japan as a development trend by the 7th century. It was in that century that national economic development underwent a crucial change. The metamorphosis of a classless society into a class one constituted a social revolution. The introduction of state feudal landholdings and the allotment system of the peasant's holding, which, as a matter of fact, emerged in the late 7th century, delayed the evolution of private landholding for years. The introduction of the allotment system and the government policy of encouraging the cultivation of virgin lands facilitated the disintegration of state landholding, which had been underway since the 8th century.

The period from the 8th century to the middle of the 10th century was a time of land encroachment and land cultivation on the part of the nobility and the clergy. It was also characterized by the springing up of early manors and division of fields into the lands of holders and tenants and domains, with predominating labor rent. By the middle of the 10th century, the allotment system was virtually nonexistent but state landholding lingered.

By the middle of the 10th century and throughout the 11th century manors multiplied in size due to donations and new encroachments. A hierarchical property structure came into being and in-kind rent gained paramount importance. As a result of the state policy regarding the manor, most of the landowners were granted immunity.

The early decades of the 12th century were the period of the manor system's consolidation. It was characterized by the transformation of rented lands into peasant holdings, increase in rent in volume and kind, which was levied in a mixed form (in-kind and labor), and the growing personal dependence of peasants on the feudal lord.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

12424

CSO: 1807/190

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

12424
CSO: 1807/190

U.S., BRITISH STAND ON UNESCO, NEW INFORMATION ORDER ASSAILED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 85 pp 32-40

[Article by Vasiliy Vasilyevich Vakhrushev, doctor of historical sciences and professor at the Friendship of Peoples University imeni Patrice Lumumba: "Ideological Neocolonialism and the UNESCO 'Crisis'"]

[Text] Ideological neocolonialism, which encompasses the spheres of culture, education, and science, and especially information and communications, occupies an important place in the struggle to preserve imperialism's positions in developing countries and create a strong social base there. A powerful means of ideological influence, the information and communications sphere has in addition become big business controlled by the leading newspaper trusts, information agencies, and corporations which supply information, including for export. Thus, the countries of developed capitalism account for more than 90 percent of the world exports of newspapers and journals, books, televisions, cassette recorders, and photographic equipment and materials. The production and marketing of communications equipment is under the control of 15 transnational corporations (TNC's) which are the leaders in this field, including 10 American ones and 2 -- West German. About 80 percent of the current information which comes to the press of developing countries originates from 4 major Western agencies -- United Press International, Associated Press, Reuters, and France Press. At the same time, most liberated countries do not have their own information systems. In 1978 these countries, whose population exceeds 75 percent of the population of the entire planet, accounted for 22 percent of the book titles published, approximately 17 percent of total newspaper circulation, about 9 percent of newspaper output consumption, less than 27 percent of the radio stations, about 18 percent of radio receivers, only 5 percent of the television stations, and about 12 percent of the television receivers.¹ Of course, the stream of purposeful information from the Western countries in the political and ideological interests of imperialism has a major impact on the consciousness and attitudes of the societies of other states and on molding the views and tastes of their populations. Most liberated countries are literally crushed by this information flow from the West: for a number of countries of Latin America, for example, the main source of current information is a U.S. agency; certain countries of Africa do not have their own press at all; and in certain countries of Asia, television broadcasts are completely composed of foreign broadcasts. According to calculations by experts of the nonalignment

movement, the flow of information from the Western countries to developing countries exceeds the flow in the opposite direction almost 100-fold. The late president of Finland, U. Kekkonen, described the predominance of the monopolies of the West in the field of international mass information as "information imperialism."

In addition to the problem of balancing flows of information, the problems of information content and objectivity as well as responsibility for it are also becoming very crucial. It is no accident that on the initiative of the nonaligned countries, these issues have become a subject of examination in such prestigious international organizations as the UN and UNESCO. "Information and the means to broadcast it in state, private, and/or commercial organizations can be used in different ways," one of the UNESCO program documents emphasizes. "Information can be used and is often used to propagandize prejudice and intensify ignorance and contempt and even intolerance toward others, but it can also be a beneficial source of mutual understanding and respect."²

The Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries in Colombo in 1976 was one of the major stages in activating the developing countries' struggle against informational neocolonialism. The concept of a "new international order in the information sphere" was formulated during this conference; this concept reflected the desire of these countries to put an end to the ideological expansion of imperialism. In recent years this concept has been transformed into the concept of the "new international information order" (NIIO), which is now considered an inseparable constituent part of the restructuring of the entire system of international trade-economic and other relations on a just, democratic basis. The NIIO concept is interpreted in precisely this way in the socialist states and in most liberated states. It is true that UN and UNESCO documents use the concept of a "new international order in the sphere of information and communications" (as a concession to the West).

Within the framework of the concept, which the countries of the socialist community and most liberated countries support, such principles as the need for decolonization and democratization in the information sphere; elimination of inequity in the exchange and trade of information; establishment of equitable, mutually advantageous, and mutually acceptable relations in this field; recognition of the role of the mass information media in strengthening peace and mutual understanding between peoples, supporting human rights, and eliminating racism and apartheid; a ban on propaganda for war and hatred between peoples; the creation by liberated countries of their own information systems and effective participation by them in the exchange of information; objectivity of information and responsibility for its content, and others are becoming gradually established.

The next stage in affirming these principles was the adoption by the supreme forum of UNESCO -- the General Conference -- at its 20th Regular Session (Paris, 1978) of the "Declaration on the Basic Principles Concerning the Contribution of Mass Information Media to Strengthening Peace and International Mutual Understanding, the Development of Human Rights, and the Struggle Against Racism, Apartheid, and Warmongering." The struggle to adopt

such a declaration, proposed earlier by the Soviet Union, continued for several years. During these years the United States and several of its allies in imperialism and neocolonialism stubbornly opposed the adoption of this document and the affirmation of the principles mentioned above. Nonetheless, they ultimately proved to be alone. Neither were their attempts to reduce the basic content of this document to nothing more than unrestricted "freedom of the press" successful. As a result, the 1978 Declaration was adopted without a vote -- by consensus, that is, without objection.

Having adopted this document legally, the imperialist powers ignore it in fact and carry on their former policy in the information field. Thus, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported in those days that "there can be no freedom of the press or 'balanced' information for Americans, if those who support racism and apartheid as well as war are not allowed freedom of speech."³

Nonetheless, most of the UNESCO member-countries are becoming more and more aware that all states must be guided by the 1978 Declaration in their information policy and that the NIIO is not only supposed to encompass all the world's countries but is to be based on the norms of international law and the decisions of the UN, UNESCO, and other international organizations in whose jurisdiction this field of activity falls. The NIIO must regulate the flow of information and help it become mutually advantageous and balanced; eliminate any subversive propaganda, including propaganda aggression for the purpose of economic destabilization or inciting hostility between the government and the public; and prohibit appeals for antigovernmental demonstrations and to overthrow the particular sociopolitical order. The NIIO is also supposed to regulate the content of information being broadcast and cultural and educational programs so that they meet the established norms and customs.

The adoption in November 1979 of the report by the International Commission to Study Problems of Communication, headed by the laureate of the Lenin and Nobel Peace Prizes, Shawn MacBride," was a major step in confirming the need to establish the NIIO.⁴ The results of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Development Issues (Paris, UNESCO, 1980) were also positive in this respect. In accordance with the recommendations of the conference, the 21st Session (Belgrade, 1980) of the UNESCO General Conference adopted a decision to implement the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) and charged the 35-member (including the USSR) Intergovernmental Council with fulfilling it. This decision pointed out specially that the IPDC should become one of the stages of the struggle to establish the NIIO. At its 22nd Session (Paris, 1983), the General Conference summarized the results of the work of the Intergovernmental IPDC Council and approved its report and in a resolution proposed by the USSR noted the need to carry out all this work guided by the principles of the 1978 UNESCO Declaration on the mass information media's contribution to strengthening peace and mutual understanding. The implementation of the IPDC is considered one of the practical steps on the road to establishing the NIIO.

Nonetheless, the concept of the NIIO and the principles established in the 1978 UNESCO Declaration, like all UNESCO practical activities in the fields of education, science, culture, and information, does not suit the ruling circles, among them the masters of the information agencies and the entire

propaganda machine of the United States and its allies. This is the reason for their dissatisfaction and "anger" and their blackmail and pressure on UNESCO. The U.S. Government, and following it the Government of Great Britain, essentially presented UNESCO with ultimatums to change the ratified (incidentally, without objections from the delegations of these states) Second Medium-Term Plan, the Program, and the budget and to reject the decisions agreed upon and adopted by UNESCO executive organs and tried to put financial pressure on the Organization for the purpose of radically revising the Program and basic directions of its activity. In other words, the point was to completely strike out the political activity of UNESCO and convert it exclusively into an agency to give assistance, a kind of double of the United Nations Development Program. And the official representatives and propaganda machine of these powers brought unfounded accusations against UNESCO asserting that the Organization is supposedly violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UNESCO Charter, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and so forth.

But is that really how matters stand? "The Soviet Union is very pleased to see that UNESCO's international authority and moral-political prestige have risen in recent years and its role in the system of contemporary international relations has increased," a 17 September 1984 letter by the USSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs notes.⁵ The governments and public of most other UNESCO member-states hold the same opinion. This is explained by the fact that the Organization is responding to the main problems of our time to an ever-greater degree and is making its constructive contribution to solving them in the interests of all mankind. The fully justified impression is being created that for the United States and some of its allies, international cooperation and international organizations are acceptable only to the degree that they allow these powers to impose their views on other countries and subordinate them to their own interests.

As is well known, the 17 September 1981 decision of the U.S. House of Representatives which appealed to the administration to "cease financial support of UNESCO if any steps were taken to implement plans to control the dissemination of information and ideas" preceded the official announcement which contained a threat that the United States would withdraw from UNESCO if the Organization's policies and activities were not changed in the direction it desired. This decision was supported by President R. Reagan. The United States threat was followed by an announcement on 2 April 1984 by T. Rayson, British secretary of development of coastal territories, addressed to the UNESCO general director in which the secretary referred to "concerned public opinion in his country" and demanded "radical improvement of the programs" of UNESCO, emphasizing that "a real need for changes has become even more apparent after the announcement by the United States of America of its withdrawal from the Organization" and that the British expected "fundamental signs of changes by the end of 1984." Explaining the reasons for the "concern," the British secretary asserted: "The value of UNESCO's work and its authority can only suffer as a result of too much attention to politically debatable issues," using as an example the "increasingly deep involvement of UNESCO in the issues of communication and mass information media."⁶

In other words, an illogical formulation of the issue of the "depoliticization" of UNESCO followed (and not for the first time). Nonetheless, it is well known that as an international intergovernmental organization, UNESCO has reflected and does reflect the various political and ideological trends and tendencies operating in the international arena and that this is a normal and inevitable form of its existence. It is also a generally known truth that education, science, culture, and information do not exist and develop in isolation and that they are closely interrelated and interact with the political, social, and economic processes and problems of society, including problems of peace, disarmament, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid. Of course, Washington and London are well aware of this but stubbornly try to distract UNESCO from trying to solve these problems.

The threats of the United States and Britain against UNESCO naturally aroused not only perplexity among the Organization's member states but also condemnation by broad circles in science, culture, and education. A group of prominent Soviet scientists also expressed their support of UNESCO's progressive activities and sent a special appeal to its general director.⁷ To neutralize these sentiments and evaluations of the world community, the United States launched a slanderous campaign against UNESCO⁸ which the bourgeois press of a number of countries of Western Europe picked up, accusing the Organization of engaging in functions which were supposedly not intrinsic to it, that a bloc of socialist and developing countries "hold complete sway" in it, that it does not maintain financial discipline, and the like. In connection with this campaign, a press conference was held on 13 March 1984 in UNESCO staff-headquarters. A. Lopez, UNESCO deputy general director, spoke there and announced among other things: "The aim of the slanderers is to direct public opinion into a line of false arguments, away from the basic problems which arise in connection with the decision of one of the member-states to withdraw from the Organization."⁹

Washington's conflict with UNESCO began with the United States speaking out against its program to establish a NIIIO, whose main goal is to protect the developing countries from ideological neocolonialism and help them arrange the exchange of truthful information about their life and world problems on the whole. Washington is also annoyed with UNESCO's positive position on issues of peace and disarmament. It is also dissatisfied that UNESCO consistently speaks out against the apartheid system in the Republic of South Africa and condemns Israel's aggressive policies.

After applying pressure on the UNESCO general director, the United States and the Western countries which support it tried, at the 119th Regular Session of the Executive Council (May 1984), to bring about a complete revision of the Program ratified by the General Conference, the budget for 1984-1985, and the Second Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989 in accordance with U.S. demands. They also created the impression that if they withdrew from the Organization, a "crisis" would inevitably break out in UNESCO and the Organization would cease to exist. Nonetheless, most of the members of the Executive Council did not support the representatives of the United States and other Western countries and demonstrated their solidarity in regard to the goals and principles of UNESCO as well as its practical activities. The reminder of the U.S.

representative in the council that his country might withdraw from the Organization also had no effect. The Zimbabwean representative, among others, declared that UNESCO belongs to all member-states of the Organization and not just the United States of America. At the same time, representatives of the socialist countries and a number of liberated countries in the council criticized the UNESCO secretariat for ineffectiveness in carrying out several programs, in particular those concerning UNESCO's contribution to the struggle for peace and mutual understanding between peoples as well the struggle to establish the NIIO.

The UNESCO general director A.M. M'Bou assured the Executive Council that he would continue to search for ways to increase the efficiency of UNESCO's activities to fulfill its programs and the Second Medium-Term Plan in complete accordance with the Organization's Charter and the decisions of the General Conference. He announced his intention to set up five consultative groups composed of prominent experts in various fields of UNESCO activity to formulate the appropriate recommendations. Regarding the letter from the British minister Rayson mentioned above, the general director announced that in fulfilling the Program his duty was to strictly follow the spirit and letter of the directives of the General Conference as well as of the resolutions adopted by it. And A.M. M'Bou emphasized that he could make no changes in the programs and practical activities of UNESCO in connection with the demands of any member of the Organization and expressed satisfaction that most of the members of the Executive Council supported the opinion that the ratified UNESCO Program and budget for 1984-1985 must be fulfilled. Later, in an interview by the journal POLITIQUE ETRANGER he stated: "It must be stressed that UNESCO was not set up to serve the interests of one state or any particular group of states. If it acted in that way, it would lose its international character and, consequently, the very meaning of its existence."¹⁰

During 1984 the Organization spent a great deal of effort on formulating recommendations on increasing the efficiency of its activities. The Provisional Committee of the Executive Council and five working groups within the UNESCO Secretariat were set up for this purpose. At the 120th Session (September 1984), the Executive Council approved the results of their work, which received the support of the overwhelming majority of Council members, among them the representative of Great Britain.

The author of this article participated in the consultative working group on issues of information (16-20 July 1984) which meet at UNESCO staff-headquarters. The group's official task designated in its mandate by the general director was to prepare recommendations focused on improving information to the world community on the purposes, program, and practical activities of UNESCO in order to insure a more complete and objective idea of the Organization in all member-states. The group's composition was clearly unbalanced: of its 22 participants only 3 experts were from socialist countries (the USSR, Rumania, and Hungary) and 5 -- from developing countries (Egypt, Zimbabwe, Guinea, Pakistan, and Peru) and the other 14 represented either Western countries (the United States, Britain, France, Portugal, and Switzerland) and Japan or pro-Western nongovernmental organizations, including

advertising associations. It should be added to this that the expert from Pakistan frequently supported the position of the Western countries.

Taking advantage of this distribution of forces and interpreting the mandate of the consultative group in a biased way, the representatives of the West and Japan launched a noisy campaign concerning the "UNESCO crisis" and "its departure" from the basic principles of the Charter, that is, the "preoccupation" with the points of its Preamble and "obliviousness" to other basic points, and regarding the "extreme politicization" of its Program (measures involving UNESCO's contribution to protecting peace and mutual understanding by means of science, culture, education, and information). They announced that all this has supposedly led to a "loss of faith" in UNESCO on the part of public opinion in the Western countries, above all the United States. Relying on similar "arguments," they demanded the "complete depoliticization" of UNESCO and a revision of the Organization Program, especially in the field of information. They insisted that the periodicals and other publications of UNESCO be "depoliticized" and their publication be handed over to private firms and organizations and demanded that all information activity be completely restructured and decentralized and the UNESCO apparatus involved in this activity, above all the Public Information Service, be radically reorganized. They also tried to prove that in this "crisis situation," UNESCO's primary task was to "restore trust" in it in Anglo-Saxon countries. Members of the group from the United States (deputy chairman of the Commission on UNESCO Affairs L. Susman and the former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria D. Reinhardt) once again mentioned the threat of the withdrawal of the United States (and possibly other countries as well) from the Organization. In the summary document of the consultative group L. Susman tried to include a recommendation to the UNESCO general director to call on member-states not to offer for inclusion in the UNESCO Program proposals which could lead to confrontation between individual groups of states or arouse the dissatisfaction of public opinion in certain countries.

During the sharp debate which unfolded in the group, experts from socialist countries rejected this formulation of the question, demonstrating that it, like the particular proposals and recommendations introduced by the representatives of Japan and Western countries, was unjust and unsound. It was emphasized that no UNESCO crisis existed, that the evolution of its Program and practical activities in the last 30 years as a whole should be considered positive and progressive, and that it reflects the objective tendency to expand and deepen international cooperation and, as a result of this, to increase the role of international organizations which promote this cooperation in the entire system of international relations. In these conditions, UNESCO, naturally, cannot remove itself from solving urgent problems, among them political problems, the main one being the problem of preserving peace, as a condition of not only effective activity but of the very existence of UNESCO and all the other international organizations.

At the same time, representatives of the socialist countries noted the ineffectiveness of the UNESCO Secretariat in realizing a number of sections of the Program and resolutions of the General Conference. They introduced concrete proposals focused on improving its work, especially in the information field, stressing the need to strengthen the cooperation of the Secretariat

with the permanent representations at UNESCO, national commissions on UNESCO affairs, the press, social organizations, universities, and youth organizations. They also pointed out the need to step up UNESCO activities to establish the NIIO as a constituent part of the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on a just, democratic basis. As regards the statements of certain experts from Western countries who questioned not only the UNESCO decisions on the issues of international cooperation in the field of information and communications and the norms of this cooperation but also the Organization's very right to engage in discussing these problems, experts from the socialist and certain developing countries mentioned the UN decisions, in particular General Assembly Resolution No 38/82 which pointed out that UNESCO plays a "central role in the field of information and communications." And they noted that UNESCO activities in this field are highly praised by the governments of most states, the nonalignment movement, and the world community. Urging stepped-up UNESCO activity to establish the NIIO, the experts from the socialist countries specially emphasized that this is necessary in order for the liberated countries to achieve ideological, cultural, and informational independence, without which the process of full decolonization cannot be finally completed.

The firm position of the members of the group from the socialist countries supported by certain participants from the liberated countries ultimately forced the rest of its participants to agree to work out compromise proposals and recommendations on issues of both UNESCO policy in the information field and the practical activities of its Public Information Service. As a result, the summary document adopted does not contain offensive assessments (on the "UNESCO crisis" and so on) or proposals (on "depoliticization" and so on). It includes generally acceptable recommendations (the proposals of the members of the group from the socialist countries are the basis for them) of a program and organizational nature, including recommendations on conducting major campaigns and measures dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the creation of UNESCO jointly with the member-states both at the headquarters and in the states themselves. Carrying them out will also promote objective coverage of the goals, tasks, Program, and practical activities of UNESCO. The work of the other work groups and the Provisional Executive Council Committee was also completed in the same spirit.

It is completely apparent that in 1984 the delegations of many countries and the UNESCO Secretariat leadership tried to be patient, even conciliatory, and sometimes this went beyond tolerable bounds. Analysis of the U.S. position at the 119th and 120th sessions of the Executive Council confirms the conclusion that this country's withdrawal from UNESCO is a deeply political decision and references to the shortcomings of the Organization's activities were necessary in order to in some way justify this decision (the United States withdrew from UNESCO on 31 December 1984). We should note the clear inconsistency of the position of Great Britain; its representative declared support of the recommendations focused on improving its activities and his country's readiness to participate in carrying them out, but then in November 1984, a month after the session ended, the Government of Great Britain announced its own withdrawal from UNESCO in late 1985, referring once more to the same "shortcomings" in the Organization's activities. In a short time the government of Singapore made a similar announcement, most likely on the

"advice" of Washington and London. Similar threats, unofficial to be sure, began to be heard from Bonn and Tokyo as well.

In this way, there is a sharp exacerbation of the struggle over the basic directions of UNESCO activities as well as those of other international organizations of the UN system. The spheres of science, culture, education, and especially information have become the arena of an acute ideological struggle. UNESCO participation in the struggle for peace and against racism and neocolonialism and for establishing a new international information order does not suit, above all, the United States of America and its allies. But if UNESCO were to follow the "logic" of the demands of the R. Reagan administration and the governments of some of its allies, it would have to enter into irreconcilable opposition to the principles and goals recorded in its Charter and to the new realities which have taken shape in the world. The organization would lose its international character and the prestige which it has enjoyed with the world community. The overwhelming majority of the UNESCO member-states reject this formulation of the issue, believing that an international, intergovernmental organization cannot and must not adapt itself to the interests of one country or one group of countries, even if their financial payments to its budget are substantial. They hold the opinion that without strict fulfillment of the obligations they have assumed and respect for the decisions and documents adopted, international cooperation loses its meaning. In addition, the danger of the pressure being applied on UNESCO by the United States of America and some of its allies, which the UNESCO general director pointed out, should also be mentioned. "Everything that pursues the goal of weakening the Organization or questions its existence," emphasized A.M. M'Bou in an interview with the French journal POLITIQUE ETRANGER, "can weaken or question the entire international system created after World War II."¹¹ After all, the fact is that UNESCO is not the only object of "anger," attacks, and pressure. Such organizations as the International Labor Organization (ILO), from which the United States has already withdrawn once, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and even the United Nations itself have also been subjected to vigorous attacks in the past.

But UNESCO, like other international organizations of the UN system, cannot be eliminated, since international cooperation must not be eliminated, inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world interested in this cooperation are against that happening. In particular, the 4th Extraordinary Session of the Executive Council held in February 1985 at the Organization's headquarters in Paris confirmed this. It was convened to study the problems which arose in connection with the United States' withdrawal from its body, among them financial problems. Needless to say, every state has a right to withdraw from UNESCO, like from any other organization, but they must at the same time observe its Charter and financial rules, since the rights and duties stemming from them are indivisible. And this means that on the one hand the United States is completely obligated to make the payments due from it until the end of 1984.¹² On the other, beginning in 1985 it loses all rights stemming from its membership in this Organization, including the right to a quota in UNESCO Secretariat personnel. And finally, they lose any legal and moral right to make recommendations on the programs and practical activities of UNESCO, not to even mention present any demands whatsoever against the

Organization. This also applies equally to Great Britain, which announced its withdrawal from the Organization at the end of 1985.

Another important political result of the extraordinary session of the Executive Council was that most of its participants affirmed their own countries' support of the basic directions of UNESCO activities and offered concrete proposals to increase the efficiency of these activities and did not yield to the blackmail of the United States and its allies. "The Soviet Union has always supported and intends to continue to support UNESCO," the 6 December 1984 Statement of the Permanent USSR Representation in UNESCO indicated, "which has proven itself an effective instrument to help strengthen peace and security through expanding cooperation between peoples in the field of education, science, and culture."¹³ In addition, at this session of the Executive Council, the Soviet representative announced that in the situation which had been created the Soviet Union would be prepared to review the question of allocating an additional, voluntary payment into the UNESCO budget to finance its normal activities. The representatives of France, India, Venezuela, Nigeria, and certain other countries also made similar announcements.¹⁴ In this way, the financial blackmail by Washington and London is clearly failing too.

So, the only ones who do not like the activities of UNESCO, and of other international organizations of the UN system as well as of the UN itself, are the United States and its closest allies in imperialism and neocolonialism. UNESCO and the overwhelming majority of member-states of this Organization have chosen the true path -- the path of peace, progress, and cooperation. The liberated states, relying on the support of the socialist countries in the struggle against ideological neocolonialism, have already achieved certain successes: a number of countries have set up their own telegraph agencies and radio stations and are putting out newspapers; the Press Agency Pool of the Nonaligned Countries, whose members include more than 80 agencies, is operating; such regional associations as the Organization of Press Agencies of the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean (OPACAPO) and the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) are also operating. And although these organizations do not yet have a broad correspondent network and their material capabilities are still small, nonetheless, there is no doubt that they are steadily gathering strength. As the results of the regular session of the UN Committee on Information¹⁵ (the session was held almost simultaneously with the work of the UNESCO consultative groups) and the 119th and 120th,¹⁶ and 4th extraordinary sessions of the Executive Council have shown, successfully meeting the challenges of the struggle against ideological neocolonialism will help establish a new international information order and help carry out the International Program of Development of Communications outlined by UNESCO.

The UNESCO member-states and the progressive world community are attempting to preserve the nature and orientation of the Organization's activities and to hinder attempts by reactionary circles to undermine these useful activities in which all of mankind has an interest.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: Second Medium-Term Plan (1984-1989), UNESCO, document 4xc/4, 1983, paragraph 3016, p 97.
2. Ibid., paragraph 3003.
3. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 29 November 1978.
4. See: "Mezhdunarodnaya komissiya po izucheniyu problem kommunikatsii. Zaklyuchitelnyy doklad" [International Commission to Study the Problems of Communications], UNESCO, 1980.
5. See: UNESCO, document 120 EX/34, p 1; see also: UNESCO COURIER, No 10, 1984, Appendix.
6. See: UNESCO, document 119 EX/30, pp 2-3.
7. See: UNESCO COURIER, No 10, 1984, p 39.
8. See, for example: INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 1 February 1984.
9. PRAVDA, 15 March 1984.
10. Cited from: IZVESTIYA, 18 August 1984.
11. Ibid.
12. See: UNESCO, document 119 EX/INF, 9, p 6.
13. See: UNESCO COURIER, No 12, 1984, Appendix.
14. See: PRAVDA, 17 February 1985.
15. See: Yu. Kashlev, "The Pincers of Information Imperialism," NOVOYE VREMYA, No 33, 1984, pp 14-15.
16. See: UNESCO, document 120 EX/34, p 23; see also: UNESCO COURIER, No 10, 1984, Appendix.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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CSO: 1807/190

NAUKA PUBLISHERS' EASTERN SECTION: WORKS PLANNED FOR 1986

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 85 pp 105-108

[Article by Oleg Konstantinovich Dreyer, candidate of historical sciences and chief editor of the "Nauka" Publishers Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature, under the rubric "Scientific Life": "'Nauka' Publishers' Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature in 1986"]

[Text] 1986 is the year of the 27th CPSU Congress. The congress, which will ratify the program documents of the party, will define the tasks of Soviet scientists of all specializations to realize the program of socioeconomic development of our country, to strengthen ties with the countries of the socialist camp, and to continue to study the world revolutionary process of contemporary times in depth. There is no question that Soviet scientists will devote their basic attention to formulating the key problems defined by the party documents.

As before, works which reflect the multidisciplinary nature of the activities of the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Union republic Academies of Sciences in the field of Eastern studies and African studies are represented in the book publishing plan of the GRVL ['Nauka' Publishers' Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature]. Publications of traditional GRVL series will be continued.

Among the books for 1986 let us note the second edition of the monograph of the USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member G.F. Kim "Ot natsionalnogo osvobozhdeniya k sotsialnomy" [From National Liberation to Social]. The monograph is devoted to analyzing the development of contemporary national-liberation revolutions into social-liberation ones. The book shows changes in the social-class structure of liberated countries, social progress, the ideological struggle, and the greater influence of the ideology of scientific socialism as a reflection of the impact of the world socialist system on developing countries. The collective monograph "Problemy razvitiya kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya v osvobodivshikhsya stranakh Vostoka" [Problems of the Development of the Communist Movement in Liberated Countries of the East] examines the origin, development, and present status of the parties of the proletarian vanguard in the countries of Asia and Africa. It shows the place of the communist movement of Afro-Asian countries in the world communist movement. The book "Razvivayushchiyesya strany v sovremennom mire: puti

revolyutsionnogo protsessa" [The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Paths of the Revolutionary Process] examines the major issues of today's national-liberation movement. The problem is analyzed from the point of view of the general patterns of development of the movement both within its present stage and on the scope of the developing world as a whole and individually according to its main groups. The monograph "Natsionalnyye i sotsialnyye dvizheniya na Vostoke" [The National and Social Movements in the East] studies the political system of modern revolutionary democracy, determines the criteria of socioeconomic and cultural progress of the liberated countries of the East, and on this basis analyzes the experience of the two paths of their development.

The works of N.I. Voronchanina "Islam v obshchestvenno-politicheskoy zhizni Tunisa" [Islam in the Sociopolitical Life of Tunisia], "Islam v sovremennoy politike stran Vostoka" [Islam in the Present Politics of the Countries of the East], and "Islam i problemy natsionalizma v stranakh Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka" [Islam and the Problems of Nationalism in the Countries of the Near and Middle East] will help correctly assess the role of the Islamic factor in the sociopolitical and ideological life of the Muslim countries. The book by the well-known American Islamic specialist G. Grunebaum "Classical Islam: A History (600-1258)" [Klassicheskiy islam: istoriya (600-1258)], devoted to the origin and development of Islam and the Arab Caliphate up to the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, is interesting for a broad circle of students of religion and supplements the numerous works in Russian devoted to early Islam.

The publication of the book "Traditsionnyye religii Afriki" [Traditional Religions of Africa] opens the series "Religii mira" [Religions of the World], which is being prepared by a large collective of scientists. The next annual publication "Religii mira: istoriya i sovremennost'" [Religions of the World: History and the Present] will come out in 1986 and will include the traditional chapters -- the theory and methodology of religious studies, religion in the contemporary world, the history of religious teachings, and others.

The publication "Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke (Posolstvo Florio Beneveni v Persiyu i Bukharu v 1718-1727 gg.)" [Peter the First's Envoy to the East (The Diplomatic Mission of Florio Beneveni to Persia and Bukhara in 1718-1727)] -- the latest book in the series "Aziya i Afrika v istochnikakh i materialakh" [Asia and Africa in Sources and Materials] -- is of interest to historians. The books "Rossiya i Afganistan" [Russia and Afghanistan] and "Rossiya i Indiya" [Russia and India], which for the first time will put extensive archive materials on Russo-Afghan and Russo-Indian relations since the time of their origin and to 1917 in scientific circulation, are being prepared in the series "SSSR i strany Vostoka" [The USSR and the Countries of the East].

The collective monograph "Opyt stroitelstva sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki v stranakh Azii" [The Experience of the Building of Socialist Economies in the Countries of Asia] discusses the economies of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, summarizes the experience of economic construction, identifies the specific features of resolving the basic tasks of the transition period, and shows the international factor's role in

the creation of the material-technical base of the new socialist society. The monograph "Vostok: prodovolstviye i razvitiye" [The East: Foodstuffs and Development] is devoted to one of the most serious problems of contemporary times -- the food crisis as one of the manifestations of imperialism's policy toward the developing countries. The work comprehensively studies all aspects of the crisis which is considered an essential factor hindering the socioeconomic development of the liberated countries following the capitalist path. This is one of the first research projects on this topic in Soviet scientific literature.

The following works are devoted to the present political position of capitalist states: V.L. Avakov's "SShA: geopolitika i strategiya (Blizhniy i Sredniy Vostok)" [The United States: Geopolitics and Strategy (The Near and Middle East)]; A.D. Bogaturov's "Yaponskaya diplomatiya v imperialisticheskoy borbe za istochniki syrya i topliva" [Japanese Diplomacy in the Imperialist Struggle for Raw Material and Fuel Sources], V.S. Rudnev's "Politika SShA v Yugo-Vostochnoy Azii" [U.S. Policies in Southeast Asia], and V.A. Shmarov's "Osobennosti politiki imperializma v Vostochnom Sredizemnomorye" [Characteristic Features of Imperialism's Policies in the Eastern Mediterranean].

Among the works on the topic "The State and Law," I would like to single out the books "Osnovy srenevekovogo kitayskogo prava" [The Foundations of Medieval Chinese Law] by Ye.I. Kychanov and "Musulmanskoye pravo" [Muslim Law] by L.R. Syukiyaynen as well as the collective monograph "Pravovoye regulirovaniye agrarnykh otnosheniy" [Legal Regulation of Agrarian Relations].

The history of science is represented by an anthology in memory of the Academician B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and a collection of articles on the scientific and scientific-organizational activities of Academician S.F. Oldenburg (1863-1934).

Many publications are devoted to the countries of Africa: "10 let efiopskoy revolyutsii" [Ten Years of Ethiopian Revolution]; N.B. Kochakova's "Rozhdeniye afrikanskoy tsivilizatsii (Ife, Oyo, Benin, Dagomey)" [The Origin of African Civilization (Ife, Oyo, Benin, Dahomey)]; "Istoriya Efiopii v novoye i noveysheye vremya" [The History of Ethiopia in Modern and Recent Times]; V.I. Goncharov's "Industrializatsiya i puti stanovleniya ekonomiki Nigerii" [Industrialization and Formative Paths of the Nigerian Economy] and "Ekonomicheskiye interesy imperialisticheskikh gosudarstv v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Afriki" [Economic Interests of the Imperialist States in the Developing Countries of Africa]; and L.I. Aleksandrovskaya's "Problemy promyshlennogo razvitiya stran Afriki" [Problems of the Industrial Development of the Countries of Africa].

Among the works on countries of the Arab region let us single out the books "Zona Persidskogo zaliva: problemy i perspektivy" [The Persian Gulf Zone: Problems and Prospects] by R.V. Markaryan and "Vostochnaya Araviya" [Eastern Arabia] by V.L. Bodyanskiy.

The first study of the social thought of Afghanistan in the first third of the 19th [sic] century will be Sh. Imomov's book, which devotes special attention to the first decade (1919-1929) of this state's existence.

Many works are devoted to the countries of Southern and Southeast Asia: T.N. Klimova's "Indiya: energetika i ekonomicheskiy rost" [India: Energy and Economic Growth]; G.G. Kotovskiy's "Agrarnyy stroy nezavisimoy Indii" [The Agrarian System of Independent India], "Ekonomicheskoye i sotsialno-politicheskoye razvitiye nezavisimoy Indii (itogi, problemy, perspektivy)" [The Economic and Sociopolitical Development of Independent India (Results, Problems, and Prospects)], and "Laosskaya Narodno-Demokraticheskaya respublika na puti stroitelstva sotsializma" [The Lao People's Democratic Republic on the Road to the Building of Socialism]; I.B. Redko's "Politicheskaya istoriya Nepala" [The Political History of Nepal]; and V.P. Puchkov's "Politicheskoye razvitiye Bangladesh" [The Political Development of Bangladesh].

A large number of works are devoted to the history, economy, and culture of China, for example: A.A. Bokshchanin's "Udelnaya sistema v pozdnesrednevekovom Kitaye" [The Appanage System in Late Medieval China]; V.P. Ilyushechkin's "Soslovno-klassovoye obshchestvo v istorii Kitaya (opyt sistemno-strukturnogo analiza)" [The Estate-Class Society in the History of China (An Attempt at Systematic-Structural Analysis)]; O.Ye. Nepomnin and V.B. Menshikov's "Kitay na rubezhe epokh: problemy perekhodnogo obshchestva" [China on the Frontier Between Epochs: Problems of the Transitional Society]; and others. The yearbooks "Kitayskaya Narodnaya Respublika" [The People's Republic of China] for 1983-1984 and the books "Gomindan i agrarno-krestyanskiy vopros v Kitaye v 20-30-ye gody XX v." [Kuomintang and the Agrarian-Peasant Question in China in the 1920's-1930's] by A.A. Pisarev and "Ocherk ekonomicheskoy mysli Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki na rubezhe 70-80-kh godov" [Essay on the Economic Thought of the People's Republic of China at the Turn of the 1970's to 1980's] by V.Ya. Portyakov will be published. The publications of documents of the Comintern and Soviet press materials in the book "Iz istorii koreyskogo kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya (1918-1945 gg.)" [From the History of the Korean Communist Movement (1919-1945)] are interesting.

Many works by Soviet experts on Japan are devoted to various issues of economics. B.N. Dobrovinskiy's monograph "Yaponskaya ekonomika (1970-1983)" [The Japanese Economy (1970-1983)] analyzes the generalizing indicator of efficiency and gives a prognosis of its fluctuation till 1990. The works of I.P. Lebedeva "Strukturnyye izmeneniya v yaponskoy promyshlennosti (60-80-e gody)" [Structural Changes in Japanese Industry (1960's-1970's)] and the works of I.S. Tikhotskaya "Syrevaya problema sovremennoy Yaponii" [The Raw Material Problem of Contemporary Japan] are devoted to two important problems of Japan's economy. Yu.M. Cherevko's book "Ekonomicheskaya ekspansiya Yaponii na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke" [Japan's Economic Expansion in the Near and Middle East] show the present interimperialist struggle for the selling market on all the earth's continents. The publication of the popular yearbook "Yaponiya" [Japan], which has been coming out for 13 years now, is being continued. The next issue will acquaint the reader with the latest results of scientific research by domestic [Soviet] experts on Japan.

The second part of the first volume of "Istorii drevnego Vostoka (Yegipet, Vostochnoye Sredizemnomorye, Malaya Aziya, Iran, Srednyaya Aziya, Indiya, Kitay) [The History of the Ancient East (Egypt, the Eastern Mediterranean Region, Asia Minor, Central Asia, India, and China)] will come out in 1986; it summarizes the many years of research by Soviet orientalists on the origin of ancient class societies in the East and the first centers of slave-holding civilization. The publication of the series "Pamyatniki pismennosti Vostoka" [Monuments of Eastern Writing], which is already a quarter of a century old, continues. Intended for publication in this series is a complete scientific translation from Old Armenian of Grigor Narekatsi's "Book of Sorrowful Poetry," a remarkable monument of 10th century literature. The anonymous Turkish essay of 1606 devoted to the history and organization of the Janissary Corps "Mabda-i kanun-i jenicheri odzhagy tarikhi," contains both a facsimile of the manuscript preserved in the Leningrad collection of the Oriental Studies Institute and a Russian translation of the essay with detailed commentary. The publication of the outstanding monument of Chinese historiography "Istoricheskiye zapiski Syma Tsyanya" [The Historical Notes of Sima Qiangya] (volumes 4 and 5), written at the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries, B.C., continues. This work, done by R.V. Vyatkin, is a worthy contribution to the golden fund of Soviet Eastern studies.

The books by the well-known British expert in Summerian affairs L. Woolley, "Forgotten Kingdom" [Zabytoye tsarstvo] and the Australian archaeologist P. Bellwood, "Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Ancient History of Southeast Asia and Oceania" [Pokoreniye chelovekom Tikhogo okeana: Drevnyaya istoriya Yugo-Vostochnoy Azii i Okeanii] are of great interest in the series "Po sledam ischeznuvshikh kultur Vostoka" [On the Tracks of Vanished Cultures of the East]. The book by Nancy Jenkins "The Boat under the Pyramid" [Ladya pod piramidoy] tells of the unique discovery of a ritual boat in a deep mine near the Cheops Pyramid in Egypt in 1954.

Sixteen books by Soviet and foreign authors are to be published in the series "Rasskazy o stranakh Vostoka" [Stories of the Countries of the East]. The books are devoted to Burma, Micronesia, Algeria, India, Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia, Nepal, Mali, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. G. Nerval's book "Puteshestviye na Vostok" [Journey to the East] (translated from the French) will be published. G. Nerval, a prominent representative of French Romanticism who visited the countries of the Near East, described the manners and customs of the peoples of these countries in a series of short stories. Yu.A. Petrosyan's book "Drevniy gorod na beregakh Bosfora" [Ancient City on the Shores of the Bosphorous] gives the history of one of the oldest cities of the world -- Byzantium (later Constantinople and now Istanbul).

The book by the artists M.L. Plakhova and B.V. Alekseyev "K ostrovam Indiyaskogo okeana" [On the Islands of the Indian Ocean], which tells about the Seychelles, Madagascar, and Mauritania, is richly illustrated with pictures.

A large number of publications will be devoted to various aspects of the culture of the East. Among them are the books: "Formirovaniye yaponskoy natsionalnoy kultury" [The Formation of Japanese Culture] and "Kultura i politika v stranakh Azii i Afriki" [Culture and Politics in the Countries of

Asia and Africa] by L.D. Grisheleva; "Rukopisnaya kniga v kulture narodov Vostoka" [The Manuscript Book in the Culture of the Peoples of the East]; and "Afrikanskiy tanets" [African Dance] by L.N. Fedorova.

The yearbook "Africa in Soviet Research" will be published in English and the first issue of "Soviet Orientalist Research" will be published.

The books "Yazyk v politike i ideologii stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka" [Language in the Politics and Ideology of the Countries of the Foreign East] by L.B. Nikolskiy, "Sravnitel'naya istoricheskaya grammatika tyurkskikh yazykov" [A Comparative Historical Grammar of Turkish Languages] by Academician B.A. Serebrennikov and N.Z. Gadzhiyeva, and "Izbrannyye trudy po yazykoznaniyu" [Selected Works on Linguistics] by USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member N.V. Yushmanov represent linguistics.

The continuing publication of materials by the Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition on the rare languages of Vietnam as well as the publication of the next issues of the series "Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki" [Languages of the Peoples of Asia and Africa] -- "Nubiyskiy yazyk" [The Nubian Language] and "Yazyk fula" [The Fula Language] will be of great importance. More than 120 studies have been published in the almost 30 years of the series' existence.

Literary criticism is represented by a large number of monographic and collective studies. Among them are the works "Literatura Afganistana na yazyke pushtu" [Afghan Literature in the Pushtu Language] by A.S. Gerasimova, "Tibetskaya literatura" [Tibetan Literature] (a brief study) by V.S. Dylykova, and the monograph "Vvedeniye v istoricheskuyu poetiku epokhi" [Introduction to the Historical Poetry of an Epoch] by Ye.M. Meletinskiy.

Books on the outstanding contemporary Indian writer Mul Radj Anande (Ye.D. Kalinnikova), the great Indian poet of the 19th century Mirze Galibe (N.I. Prigarina), and the great poet of ancient China Qu Youang (USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member N.T. Fedorenko) will be published in the series "Pisateli i uchenyye Vostoka" [Writers and Scientists of the East].

Among the publications of fiction and folklore of the countries of the East we will mention the translation of the Georgian classic "Rusudaniani," the translation of selected works by the contemporary Afghan writer Asadulla Habib "Konets bolshovo gorya" [The End of a Great Sorrow], "Neproshenaya povest -- Nidze" [An Uninvited Tale -- Nije] (translated from Japanese), and others.

"Turetskiye skazki" [Turkish Fairy Tales] and "Mify, predaniya, i skazki Zapadnoy Polinezii" [Myths, Legends, and Fairy Tales of Western Polynesia] will be published in the series "Skazki i mify narodov Vostoka" [Fairy Tales and Myths of the Peoples of the East].

The publication of the Tibetan-Russian-English dictionary prepared by Yu.N. Rerikh will continue with publication of the 4th, 5th, and 6th volumes of this fundamental work.

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ORIENTAL STUDIES INSTITUTE CONFERENCE ON AUSTRALIA, OCEANIA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 85 pp 123-124

[Article with materials presented by E.I. Razzakova, I.V. Vitukhin, I.G. Rybalkina, O.V. Mezentseva, N.V. Martynova, N.L. Grishina, N.V. Gurov, A.A. Zhukov, Yu.M. Ilin, B.N. Melnichenko, A.M. Sagalayev, and S.A. Komissarov under the rubric "Chronicle Notes": "Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies"]

[Text] The 16th Scientific Conference on the Study of Australia and Oceania was held at the institute in May of this year. Thirty reports and communications were presented at it. K.V. Malakhovskiy, head of the Pacific Ocean problems division, opened the conference and summarized the development of Soviet Oceania and Australia studies in the time since the 15th conference. In the report "Australian State Aid as a Form of Foreign Economic Ties with the Developing Countries," N.V. Gordeyeva noted that in recent decades Australia's aid to "third world" countries has substantially increased. At the present time the proportion of aid offered through international organizations is increasing. B.B. Rubtsov described the economic foundations of neocolonialism in Oceania. He emphasized that a specific feature of the economic development of the sovereign states of Oceania is that their dependence on subsidies and loans from imperialist states is steadily growing. The report by A.V. Chuyko, "Latest Advances in the Australian Economy," noted that Australia's national economy is experiencing the increasing impact of foreign capital. Agriculture's proportion in the structure of Australian gross national product, which had formerly declined steadily, has now stabilized. The deterioration of the position of the mining industry is being accompanied by an increase in the sector's role in extracting energy resources. The chemical, petroleum-processing, and cellulose-paper sectors are among the rapidly developing sectors. V.B. Amirov ("The Economic Course of R. Hawke's government") noted that the government's main task is to prove the Labor Party's ability to successfully manage the country's economy. Steps are being taken to increase the state's role in such spheres as labor relations, price and income control, and structural reorganization of the economy; however, the degree of state control in the credit-financial sphere is declining.

A.Yu. Suchkov's report was devoted to the structure of trade-economic relations between Australia and South Korea. In the report "The Exacerbation

of Economic Difficulties in New Zealand," L.G. Stefanchuk examined the causes of the deterioration in the country's economic position: a declining rate of economic growth; greater inflation; exacerbation of the problem of unemployment; and the higher state budget deficit.

M.M. Solodkina ("Australia Studies and Certain Problems of the Theory and History of Capitalism") posed the question of the need for new theoretical generalizations based on the the level of study of the history of the economic base and political superstructure of Australian society attained by Soviet Australia studies. The following problems were singled out in particular: the place of Wakefieldism in light of the Leninist idea of the two paths of development of capitalism in agriculture; classification of the types of economic development of territory in the countries of migrant capitalism depending on the resolution of the agrarian question and the immigration rate; the position of "White Australia" in the system of bourgeois means of solving the race problem and the nationality issue; tariff discrepancies (protectionism or free trade) in the second half of the 19th -- early 20th century; the 1890's crisis as the first impetus for increasing the economic role of bourgeois states; the financial mechanism as regulator of the strength or weakness of separatist trends and bourgeois federative states; and integration processes in the world capitalist system of economy as additional stabilizing factors in the period of the formational crisis.

The reports by V.A. Vrevskiy ("The 1951 Australia-New Zealand-U.S. Alliance Treaty in the First Half of the 1980's") and S.L. Kulidzhanov ("The Australian Armed Forces and Imperialism's Military Preparations"] are devoted to the region's military-strategic problems. The problem of the national-liberation movement is the subject of the reports by N.P. Chelintsev ("The Liberation Movement in French Possessions in Oceania") and E.I. Razzakova ("The Indigenous Inhabitants of Australia and the Problem of Exploitation of the Earth's Interior").

Ideological problems have found reflection in a number of reports. A.Yu. Rudnitskiy ("The 'New Left' and Historical Science in Australia") covered certain aspects of this movement and its impact on national historiography of the 1960's-1980's. It was noted that the "New Left" made a certain positive contribution to concrete historical research; in addition, the petty bourgeois-anarchic trends inherent in them and the bankruptcy of their attempts to find a substitute for Marxist theory in methodology were revealed. G.I. Kanevskaya (Vladivostok) gave the report "On Criticism of Bourgeois Conceptions of 'White Australia'." N.S. Skorobogatykh described the structure of Australian society at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. I.V. Kovler covered the basic directions of New Zealand's foreign policy under the leadership of the National Party after World War II.

The issue of Russian-Australian ties was a new topic for the conference. A.Ya. Massov (Leningrad) -- "On the Question of Studying Russo-Australian Ties in the 19th Century"-- noted among other things that this question has still not been adequately studied in Soviet historical literature and there are almost no works which contain a source-study analysis of Russian materials on Australia's history. The report by Ye.V. Govor "Little-Known Russian Sources on Australia's Socioeconomic History of the Late 19th -- Early 20th Centuries"

is devoted to such sources as the dispatches of Russian consuls in Australia. The topic of the report by A.S. Petrikovskiy was "The History of Russo-Australian Literary Ties: Australian Literature in Prerevolutionary Russia" and of the report by Ye.S. Soboleva (Leningrad) -- "Bibliography of Timor Island -- Results and Prospects."

Ethnographic topics were represented by the following reports: N.A. Butinov (Leningrad) "Miklukho-Maklay in Australia"; O.Yu. Artemova "Collectivism and Social Heterogeneity Among the Australian Aborigines"; M.S. Butinova (Leningrad) "On Types of Magic Among the Melanesians"; I.K. Fedorova (Leningrad) "Flower Symbolism in Polynesia"; Ye.A. Kiseleva (Kursk) "Elements of Musical Culture of the Aborigines of Australia"; and K.Yu. Meshkov "Sakral Cave of Easter Island and Ancient Japan."

The following reports were devoted to literary studies: O.V. Zernetskaya (Kiev) "Contemporary Modifications of the Australian Novel-Saga (Colleen Macaulay's 'Drinkers in the Bush')"; N.G. Nanitashvili (Tbilisi) "On the Question of the Place of the Story 'That Summer' in the Works of Frank Sargeson"; L.A. Shevaldin (Voronezh) "Vance Palmer as Literary Critic"; V.I. Kotlyarov (Rostov-on-the-Don) "Autobiographical Prose of John Malgan"; I.V. Goloven "G.G. Richardson and Her Trilogy 'The Setbacks of R. Mahoney'"; and Ye.Yu. Yemelyanov (Novosibirsk) "The Siberian Letters of Alan Marshall."

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CSO: 1807/190

AFRICA INSTITUTE HOSTS MEETING ON ANTICOMMUNISM ON CONTINENT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 85 pp 125-126

[Article under the rubric "Scientific Life": "The USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute"]

[Text] The conference "Anticommunism -- Tool of Imperialist Policy in Africa," organized by the sector on criticism of the ideology and politics of anticommunism, was held on 28 May 1985. Associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, the World Economic and International Relations Institute, the Oriental Studies Institute, and the General History Institute, the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee, the Friendship of Peoples University imeni P. Lumumba, the Military History Institute, and other organizations took part in the conference's work. USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member G.B. Starushenko, the deputy director of the Africa Institute and the chairman of the conference, opened the conference.

The conference's work covered six topics. Giving reports on the topic "Africa in the Global Politics of Anticommunist Strategy and the Subversive Activities of International Imperialism" were: V.A. Ryzhikov, T.L. Deych, and G.A. Babitskiy (all from the Africa Institute), I.P. Blishchenko (Friendship of Peoples University imeni P. Lumumba), and V.S. Yashchenko (Military History Institute).

Such questions as the increased attacks by anticommunist ideologists on the theory and practice of socialist orientation in Africa and their attempts to utilize the conflict situation on the continent in the interests of imperialism, the nature and character of conflicts in interstate relations, and the anticommunist thrust of assessments of Soviet-African relations by bourgeois political scientists were covered in speeches and during the debates. It was noted that an important task of Soviet investigators is well-documented exposure of imperialism's subversive policies aimed at taking advantage of the difficult economic situation of the African peoples and the worsening relations among some of them and trying to bolster the influence and position of the imperialist powers on the African continent.

T.L. Deych noted that most reactionary bourgeois political scientists lay the responsibility for the origin of the conflicts on the African continent on the countries of socialism, and above all on the USSR, for whom conflicts on the

African continent are said to be "advantageous" because they supposedly "create opportunities to bring procommunist regimes into power." G.B. Starushenko, speaking during the discussion, singled out three research directions: the influence of the consequences of colonialism on the origin of conflicts in Africa; the West's interference in the affairs of African states; and the positions of socialist countries which are fighting against foreign interference and trying to help normalize conflicts through negotiations.

V.S. Yashchenko examined certain theoretical-methodological problems related to disclosing the nature of contradictions in the interstate relations of the continent's countries.

M.M. Avsenev (Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee) and A.M. Khazanov (Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) gave reports on the topic "Anticommunism -- One of the Levers of Pressure on the African Countries When They Are Choosing Paths of Development." A broad circle of questions was discussed: the specific features of anticommunist propaganda and the subversive activities of the Western powers in the African countries of socialist orientation; attempts to discredit Marxism-Leninism as a supposedly obsolete doctrine; attacks on real socialism and assertions of the "irrelevance" of the USSR's experience for the countries of Africa; criticism of the economic system in the countries of socialist orientation, and above all the state sector of industry; and military-political and financial support by international reaction for antigovernment opposition in the countries of socialist orientation.

"Questions of Ideological Work in the Armies of a Number of African States" was the third topic discussed at the conference. Using the example of the Libyan army, G.P. Shayryan (Military History Institute) described the role of ideological work in the system of moral-political orientation of personnel.

The topic "The Religious Factor in the Strategy of Imperialism and Anticommunism" occupied an important place in the conference's work. Those who gave reports, V.Ye. Ovchinnikov (Military History Institute), D.B. Malysheva (World Economics and International Relations Institute), and N.Z. Konzhukova and I.A. Yerasova (both from the Africa Institute) examined the following questions: the influence of Islam on the ideology and politics of the African countries; the causes of the activation of the religious, primarily Islam, factor and its anticommunist orientation; the basic means and methods of religious influence; and the youth of the African states and religion.

A.N. Zhilkin and Yu.V. Troyanov gave reports on People's Republic of China relations with the countries of Africa.

The problem of "The Use of the Culture Sphere in the Ideological Struggle and for Anticommunist Propaganda on the Continent" was also discussed at the conference. A.Yu. Grushevskiy focused attention on the West's desire to influence the scientific and cultural policies of the African countries and gain the sympathy of the Africans, affirm the "values" of the bourgeois world in their consciousness, and influence the political and legal systems developing in the African states and ultimately their sociopolitical

orientation. In order to perform these tasks the imperialist powers are trying to use for their own benefit: the system of education and the mass media in African countries; international organizations under the control of the Western countries; the cultural centers of the imperialist powers and special organizations like the Peace Corp, the Carnegie Fund, and others; religious organizations; and cultural and scientific exchange.

V.A. Ryzhikov, sector chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, summarized the results of the conference's work.

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CSO: 1807/190

BOURGEOIS CONCEPTS OF 'AFROCOMMUNISM' CRITICIZED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 85 pp 162-172

[Article by Igor Vyacheslavovich Belikov, graduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, and Inko Khristov Razpopov, graduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, under the rubric "Surveys": "The Concept 'Afrocommunism': Ideological and Political Orientation"]

[Text] The 1970's, especially the second half, occupy a special place in the anti-imperialist, democratic revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Africa. A continued deepening of the revolutionary process on the continent was observed in this period; this led to the emergence of a new group of revolutionary-democratic regimes. As a result of the deepening of the social content of anti-imperialist revolutions, the leading detachment of revolutionary democracy turned toward the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and its adoption as an integral doctrine.

Scientific socialism has been proclaimed the official ideology in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the Congo, and Benin. The vanguard parties of working people being created in them rely on a broad coalition of the working peasantry which forms the working class, the nonproletarian strata of the working people, the democratic intelligentsia, and other non-exploiting strata of the people; efforts are being made to propagandize the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, indoctrinate the masses in the spirit of internationalism, and enlist working people in management. Much broader attention to the theoretical and practical experience accumulated by real socialism and an attempt to expand state, party, and other ties with the USSR and other socialist countries is characteristic of the leadership of this group of countries. Their foreign policy course has a more consistent anti-imperialist orientation. By these features the revolutionary-democratic regimes of the African countries listed above differ substantially from the petty bourgeois-populist type regimes whose leaders take the ideological and political positions of non-Marxist socialism.

The conversion of the left wing of revolutionary democracy to integral incorporation of Marxism-Leninism as the tool of fundamental reorganization of society is an important step forward and exercises a major influence on the direction of the revolutionary process in the liberated countries. New phenomena in the socialist orientation of certain African countries have

become an object of fixed attention on the part of leftist forces on the continent and beyond it. Successes or failures of the leading detachment can decisively influence the determination of their ideological and political positions. Along with the significant successes achieved by these countries, fundamental difficulties and contradictions have also been identified. Among others we can mention the gap between the social and socioeconomic transformations which are enormous in scope and purpose and the extremely low level of production forces and between the need to create an alliance of progressive social forces and their small number in conditions of the transformation of undeveloped, archaic social structures in African countries. It is therefore not surprising that ideological-political evolution and the accumulated experience of revolutionary transformations in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the Congo, and Benin have not been ignored by bourgeois political scientists and have become the object of an acute ideological struggle.

In the late 1970's-early 1980's a number of specialists in the field of political science¹ offered their own interpretation of the ideological and political processes in the group of countries of socialist orientation being study which differed from other interpretations. They expressed disagreement with the positions of conservative ideologists and political scientists on the issue of the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism, which was sharply formulated by D. Newsom: "When we speak of communism in Africa, we are speaking exclusively of the role of the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, Cuba, and, to a much smaller degree, China."² The works of rightist political scientists (D. Albright, R. Bissell, P. Jenk, M. Rothenberg, L. Gann, P. Duignan, and others) consider national-liberation revolutions above all through the prism of East-West relations and lack an analysis of ideological-political evolution and the social-class base of the forces which have come into power in the countries of socialist orientation.³ The party-state structures of these countries are defined as artificial and "puppet-like," and the program documents of the parties -- as rhetoric without any serious worldview or class basis.

In contrast to this approach, the first group of authors believes that a new type of revolutionary regime which they call "Afrocommunist (African Marxist-Leninist regimes)" and which represents an independent phenomenon possessing specific features emerged on the African continent in the 1970's.

The appearance of the new bourgeois political science concept -- "Afrocommunism" -- has been noted by Soviet researchers⁴, but it still has not become the object of special analysis which, in our opinion, it deserves. In the first place, this analysis will make it possible to see how the various changes taking place in the young states are interpreted in various circles of bourgeois academic science and what kind of recommendations to politicians and adjustments of the political course are being proposed. Secondly, events in southern Africa (conclusion of a security treaty between Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, the agreement on the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, sharp activation of U.S. politics, and substantial expansion of the economic penetration of Western countries in this region) make analysis of the concept of "Afrocommunism" important not only on the theoretical level but also from the practical standpoint. The uniform class basis of the different schools of bourgeois political science allows

conservatives to use the conclusions of liberal academic circles to attribute great flexibility to the policies being conducted and thereby consolidate the positions of world capitalism in the struggle against the forces of socialism and progress.

Let us examine the basic principles of the concept "Afrocommunism."

In analyzing the revolutionary processes in Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia in the second half of the 1970's and their acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the adherents of the idea of "Afrocommunism," unlike the conservative political scientists, believe that the reasons for this must be sought above all in internal historical, political, and social conditions. "Up to this point there is no proof," write David and Marina Ottaway, for example, "that this process was the result of a 'grandiose communist plan' worked out in Moscow, Havana, or Beijing. Neither the Russians nor the Cubans brought Marxism-Leninism in their baggage."⁵ The significant expansion and consolidation of the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Africa, in the opinion of this group of researchers, results from those specific conditions which took shape on the continent in the 1970's. In analyzing these conditions, they name the following factors which led the ideology of the radical leaders to evolve in the direction of scientific socialism: the position and role of the West and the socialist countries in the anticolonial struggle; the activities of Western European communist parties; the actual experience of political organizational activities in the liberated regions; and discrediting of the theory and practice of "African socialism." The creation of the liberated regions made it necessary for the organizations leading the national liberation struggle to define the ideological-political and social foundations of their own course even before independence was won. Therefore, even in that period ideological demarcation was taking place in the leadership of the liberation movement of the Portuguese colonies and reflected, in the words of Th. Henriksen, "the discrepancy between the reformist and revolutionary wings."⁶ The authors point out the indirect nature of the influence of the USSR and its allies on the leaders of the movements and countries under examination, noting, however, that it was possibly most significant: aid in the anticolonial struggle and the contacts of its leaders with specialists and political figures of socialist countries formulated their worldview to a substantial degree.

Political scientists who support the concept of "Afrocommunism" are attempting to show the qualitative difference between the countries which support "African socialism" and the "Marxist-Leninist states" on the African continent. They call for the adoption of Marxist-Leninist ideology to be viewed not as rhetoric but as an act reflecting the real aspirations of the leadership of the new group of revolutionary regimes in Africa. The populist leaders of the 1960's who appeared under the banner of "African socialism," in the opinion of these political scientists, resorted to Marxist phraseology only out of expediency, with no intention of really adopting the basic principles of scientific socialism and implementing them in practical activity.

Thus, Th. Henriksen points out that the adherence of the leadership of Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia to Marxist ideology "represents nothing more than

simply criticism of European colonialism, which was characteristic of the nationalists of the period after World War II. Their ideas became a clear plan to reorganize society in the direction of egalitarianism."⁷ Adherence to Marxism-Leninism, as this group of political scientists believes, manifests itself in the transformation of political life and party-administrative structures. The community of "African Marxist-Leninist states" is expressed, in their opinion, in their open orientation to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the ideological, political, and military fields, a unity of positions with world socialism on most major international problems, adoption of the thesis of the class struggle in African society, rejection of the uniqueness of the historical destiny of Africa and the slogan of the restoration of traditional harmony which was supposedly inherent in traditional society, and recognition of the leading role of the working class and its vanguard party.⁸

The authors of the concept "Afrocommunism" admit that the turn of the leadership of certain African countries to the theory of scientific socialism in practice gives them a number of advantages as compared to regimes which adhere to the ideas of "African socialism" (among the latter are Zambia, Algeria, Tanzania, Guinea, Ghana -- till 1966, and Mali -- till 1968). "African Marxist-Leninist states," write D. and M. Ottaway, "proceed from an integral idea of what direction they should follow, what institutions are necessary to achieve the goals set, what social groups will support them, and which ones will oppose them. In other words, they are aware not only of the final goal but of the dynamics of the process of change. Therefore, the transformations here are carried out more rapidly and more systematically and are marked by less contradiction than in the countries of African socialism."⁹ Positive changes in the political sophistication of the African countries of socialist orientation who have proclaimed scientific socialism their ideology are being affirmed (less political and ideological identification with one person and a greater degree of collective leadership) and a clearer social orientation in the transformations being carried out in the interests of the working people is also being noted.

The assessments and statements cited above serve as proof that the phenomenon of "Afrocommunism" represented mainly by the revolutionary regimes in Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia (certain authors also include the Congo and Guinea-Bissau in this group) began to take shape in Africa in the late 1970's. D. and M. Ottaway tried to give the most complete definition of the essence of this phenomenon: "Although orthodoxy is also a distinctive feature of the African Marxist-Leninist states in domestic policy, they try to combine 'the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism' with their own unique experience. Moreover, they appear determined to defend their complete sovereignty even in following their own foreign policy... This combination of positions on domestic and foreign problems produces what we call Afrocommunism."¹⁰ In Th. Henriksen's opinion, the formation of elements of "Afrocommunism" in the ideology of the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau is a result of a combination of "Marxist analysis and revolutionary formulas... borrowed from non-African sources and from local revolutionary experience."¹¹

At the present time, these researchers believe, it is no longer correct to pose the question of whether Marxism will find a soil for propagation in Africa. The open adoption of Marxist ideology and the transformation of the party-political structures being carried out in this direction have disproved the assertions of those who believed that customs and traditions would serve as a barrier on the path of "communist proselytism."¹² The authors of the concept of "Afrocommunism" believe the question should be posed in the following way: what type of modification will "orthodox Marxism" be subjected to when it enters the extremely specific sociocultural medium of the African countries? Stressing the existence of specifically African characteristics, these authors do not give an indepth analysis of sociopolitical, economic, and cultural aspects. The discussions of Ch. Potholm may serve as an example; he only postulates "deep-seated political pluralism" inherent, in his opinion, in traditional and contemporary Africa and on this basis draws the conclusion that "political diversity will also remain characteristic of the Africa of the future... The solutions to African problems do not involve any one approach but various paths."¹³

The lack of a comprehensive study of specifically African characteristics and their impact on the ideological-political processes in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia has led the adherents of the concept being examined to start making direct analogies with "Eurocommunism" when describing "Afrocommunism." This analogy, however, is groundless and contradicts both the real processes in the respective African countries and the theoretical constructs of the authors of the concept themselves.

Thus, for example, the work "Afrocommunism" asserts: "One of the important aspects of Eurocommunism is determination to preserve complete national independence from the Soviet Union... This same determination to preserve national independence and sovereignty in regard to the Soviet Union characterizes the position of the African Marxist-Leninist countries and therefore justifies the use of the term 'Afrocommunism'."¹⁴ But the authors experience difficulty here when substantiating their main thesis -- the existence of certain fundamental "contradictions" in the foreign policy sphere between young revolutionary regimes and the socialist community. Moreover, the expansion of cooperation between them and its nature force them to admit that "these African states are oriented to the East by virtue of a sense of common ideology and the general notion of the enemy as well as a vital need to have military protection."¹⁵ If the representatives of "Eurocommunism" have tried to distance themselves from real socialism, then the countries of socialist orientation of the group being examined in contrast are trying to further develop and consolidate ties with the world socialist system and see it as their own "natural ally."

Nonetheless, this situation, in the opinion of political scientists who adhere to the concept of "Afrocommunism," is above all the result of the "mistaken" policy of the West which supports unpopular, compromised, puppet regimes and organizations which encourage the aggressive policy of the Republic of South Africa and the like. The Soviet Union and its allies, they allege, utilize these factors to subordinate the young states to their political course and to impose their own model of social structure on them. "As the dependence on Soviet and Cuban military support increases," writes one of their political

scientists, "open adherence to Marxism-Leninism in its most orthodox Soviet interpretation and almost slavish copying of the Soviet position on international issues increases."¹⁶

Creating a distorted picture of the interrelations of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community with the states of socialist orientation, bourgeois authors appeal to the Western powers to take measures which on the one hand would help correct the "mistakes" made earlier and on the other, would, in a more delicate and veiled manner, utilize the difficulties and contradictions arising in the process of the revolutionary restructuring of society.

The complex and at times contradictory process of converging revolutionary democracy with scientific socialism and the gradual assimilation of its basic principles is being observed in the countries of socialist orientation. The revolutionary democrats of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the Congo are not promoting any "special" theoretical positions (as was characteristic of the leadership of certain European communist parties) and reject the assertion that their views are based on regional or specific-country principles. Speaking at a press conference during his visit to Finland in 1977, S. Machel categorically rejected the definition of the ideological-political platform of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] party as "Afrocommunism."¹⁷

Western political scientists consider nationalism one of the important elements of "Afrocommunism." Ch. Potholm writes, "The Afrocommunism of FRELIMO is nationalistic in tendency but at the same time... Marxist, strong and clear."¹⁸ C. Young mentions the "radical anti-imperialist solidarity of these regimes with the third world" as an "important component of the Afrocommunist future" along with nationalism.¹⁹ D. and M. Ottaway express the opinion that the model of "Afrocommunism" will be characterized by a synthesis of the ideas of proletarian internationalism and nationalism and a sense of belonging to the "third world."²⁰ It is obvious that the basic meaning of these statements is to substantiate the possibility and even desirability of merging Marxism with nationalism. The latter's role, these researchers believe, is especially important on the foreign policy level in order to serve as a counterpoise to proletarian internationalism and keep revolutionary regimes from further convergence with the socialist community. They present the idea that the anti-imperialist solidarity of the developing countries will also work in this direction.

Nationalism has had and continues to have a substantial impact on the views of African revolutionary democracy. The complex interweaving of the national and social aspects of the revolutionary process in Africa results in the preservation of nationalism as one of the most widespread and dynamic elements of mass consciousness and accounts for the revolutionary leadership's appeal to national feelings and sentiments. Moreover, nationalism is a heterogeneous ideological trend and, depending on which social groups or classes use it for their own purposes, changes both its content and orientation. Anti-imperialistically oriented nationalism, representing the reaction to imperialism's attempts to preserve its own dominance over the liberated countries by new means, is most often present in the ideas of revolutionary democracy. In this case, as R.A. Ulyanovskiy writes, one may speak of

"revolutionary-democratic nationalism," which is more or less free of narrowness, isolation, and intolerance and of anticommunism and its variation anti-Sovietism."²¹

The leaders of the countries of socialist orientation who have proclaimed acceptance of Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology state that they recognize the ideas of proletarian internationalism in domestic and foreign policy. This is also recorded in the documents of the vanguard parties of working people. The process of assimilating the ideas of internationalism develops gradually and it involves overcoming numerous prejudices, forming the working class, and substituting class consciousness for ethnosocial consciousness. Nationalistic sentiments still continue to have an impact on certain circles of the leadership of progressive regimes. This is a consequence of the incomplete and transitional nature of the process of forming ideological-political life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles in these countries. It must be emphasized that progress in this direction presupposes overcoming and getting rid of nationalism rather than conserving it (in various proportions) within the framework of a certain "national (African) model of communism." In this connection V.I. Lenin wrote: "Marxism is irreconcilable with nationalism, even the most 'fair,' 'pure,' refined, and civilized nationalism. Marxism puts internationalism in place of any nationalism..."²²

In the domestic policy of Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, in the opinion of the group of political scientists under study, Marxist principles are realized in the "orthodox variant." By this term the authors mean the theoretical and practical model of socialism and the set of principles which have supposedly been formulated only on the basis of the Soviet Union's experience and therefore are not universal and applicable to the conditions of the African countries. Based on this, the creators of the concept try to prove the need for the African countries to reject "orthodox Marxism" and revise a number of important principles in light of local peculiarities. In characterizing the political-organizational activities of the vanguard parties, the authors are inclined to acknowledge the importance of the efforts made by these parties to mobilize the masses and create local organs of people's power. Nonetheless, as Th. Henriksen, for example, asserts, the acceptance of the Leninist concept of the vanguard party contains the threat of deviating from the line on mobilizing the masses and encouraging their creative activism toward "more hierarchical power and the 'revolution from above' of the Soviet model."²³ In developing this position, the adherents of the concept of "Afrocommunism" try to prove that even in those countries where the leadership encourages the political activism of the masses and their participation in solving the problems of socioeconomic development, the acceptance of "orthodox Marxism" as the official ideology prevents further progress in this direction. The central issue in realizing Marxist principles in practice, they allege, is expansion of the contradictions supposedly inherent in Marxism between democratism and centralism. The Leninist concept of revolutionary transformations, in their opinion, resolves this dilemma in favor of centralism and to the detriment of democratism and participation. On this basis the authors of the concept call for revolutionary regimes to reject the experience of transformations in the USSR and other socialist countries as "statist" and "extremely centralistic."²⁴

Manipulation of the term "orthodox Marxism" is supposed to distort the real picture of the development of the theory of scientific socialism. The theoretical generalizations and experience of socialist construction of the USSR are of fundamental importance. Realization of the patterns of formation of the new socioeconomic order took place here on the territory of an enormous country with regions extremely diverse in level of development. This is not only an example of the restructuring on socialist principles of major capitalist industry, which existed until the October Revolution in the middle and southern part of Russia, but also transformation of the regions of Central Asia ensnared by semifeudal servitude and suffering from colonial dependence and a shift to the path of progress by the peoples of the North who were in the stage of forming a class system. All this promoted the exceptionally multifaceted nature of the Soviet experience.

Nonetheless, the development of the theory of scientific socialism could not be limited to this. In the article "Combustible Material in World Politics," V.I. Lenin wrote that the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat "in each particular country... suffers from the particular one-sidedness and particular theoretical and practical shortcomings of the particular socialist parties."²⁵ V.I. Lenin considered this one-sidedness and the shortcomings of the revolutionary worker movement "in each particular country" as a general feature of the worker movement which reflect the contradictory dialectics of the international and the national, not random aberrations. This means that international experience must be taken into account in order to overcome this type of limitation.

The emergence of socialism outside the borders of one country and the appearance of the world system of socialism enriched the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and gave new impetus to its creative development. Theoretical generalizations made on the experience of socialist construction in the USSR received further development taking into account the construction of socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America and generalization of the experience of countries which had moved to socialism by-passing capitalism. Therefore, the general patterns of socialist construction are based on consideration of the particular, national features influencing the political, socioeconomic, cultural, and other transformations and their forms in various countries.

Western authors consider ideological eclecticism, which in their opinion represents a particular instance of the general trend of eclecticism which appeared in the world communist movement after World War II, to be one of the features of "Afrocommunism." Thus, C. Young asserts that dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Africa can take place only in the form of the development of certain eclectic "national communisms."²⁶ A historical approach to this issue reveals the bankruptcy of this position.

A number of regimes whose leaders themselves experienced the impact of the ideas of scientific socialism and adopted some of its principles (above all certain aspects of economic theory and social practice) emerged in Africa in the period of decolonization (the late 1950's-early 1960's). Nonetheless, the ideological doctrines dominant in these countries represented different

variants of the concept of non-Marxist socialism of the "nationalist type" which conformed to the interests of the nonproletarian middle strata. Not one of these doctrines was a "national variant of communism" -- either in theoretical content or in social-class basis. They were formed not on the basis of Marxism, but above all on non-Marxist teachings and movements -- petty bourgeois, traditionalist-utopian, religious, and the like -- which determined their content.

A qualitatively new stage in the dissemination of scientific socialism on the African continent began in the 1970's. A group of countries of socialist orientation whose leaders, as was noted earlier, were trying to master the revolutionary method as a whole rather than particular elements of Marxism-Leninism appeared here in this period. Needless to say, the conversion to fundamentally new positions -- from fragmentary acceptance of scientific socialism to its integral assimilation as a tool of fundamental reorganization of social relations -- is a lengthy and complex process which has not yet been completed. Nonetheless, the general direction of ideological evolution is in itself still noteworthy.

In analyzing the prospects for scientific socialism's expanded influence in Africa, the authors of the concept of "Afrocommunism" believe that the acuteness of the socioeconomic and political problems facing the continent's young states make it very attractive in the eyes of Africans.

In their assessment, "Afro-Marxist" regimes possess a substantial degree of stability. Moreover, these scientists express the opinion that the probability of Marxism-Leninism spreading into other African countries is extremely high. Nonetheless, they think, it must not be asserted with certainty that regimes oriented to the ideology of scientific socialism will be able to find an effective solution to the problems facing them. Thus, the authors of the work "Anticommunism" write in conclusion: "Marxism-Leninism is spreading on the continent and most likely this will continue to the degree that attempts of both African socialists and other regimes to solve the two main problems, achieving genuine national independence and economic growth, fail. It is possible that the Marxist-Leninist regimes will also not solve these problems."²⁷ Ch. Potholm echoes them: "The present political climate in Africa makes Marxism and revolutionary theory very attractive... Marxist modernizers offer to the society a certain plan (whether it is a suitable one is another question) and a system of goals which are attractive (these goals are frequently more attractive than the methods of achieving them)."²⁸

* * *

In giving a general evaluation of the concept of "Afrocommunism," it must be emphasized that on the ideological-theoretical level it is directed against the theory of socialist orientation. Its authors assert that the victory of national-liberation and democratic revolutions in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the Congo signified the establishment of socialist, "communist" regimes in them. "In our opinion..." say D. and M. Ottaway, "these countries should be considered Marxist-Leninist, although they are in the beginning stages of consolidation."²⁹ The assessment of these regimes, they allege, as revolutionary-democratic rather than socialist is a result, in

the first place, of the caution of the USSR (after the failures in Ghana, Mali, and Egypt) and, secondly, the desire not to acknowledge that a new "communist model" -- an African one -- has emerged in the world.

Nonetheless, the choice of socialism as the goal of development and Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology is not equivalent to a socialist revolution. The transition to the socialist stage is determined not only by the choice of scientific socialism; mainly it depends on the degree of maturity of the basic moving forces of the revolution. This transition does not take place until, as R.A. Ulyanovskiy notes, "the revolutionary-democratic power exhausts all positive opportunities it has to transform society and until the objective situation, level of development of the economy, development of the class struggle of the working people, and pressing need for deeper transformations results in the transition to a higher stage of people's power -- the socialist stage, which qualitatively differs from revolutionary-democratic power."³⁰ The leaders of progressive regimes are aware of the difficulties which must be overcome on this path and the need for gradual, by-stage realization of the transformations. Thus, in characterizing the present stage of development of the revolutionary process in the country, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ethiopian Workers Party Central Committee Sh. Mazengia defines it "as noncapitalist, that is, of socialist orientation... The necessary political, ideological, technical, and material foundations of the transition to socialism are being created during this stage."³¹

At the same time, the program documents of certain African countries of socialist orientation contain statements on the socialist nature of the present stage of transformations and statements that the ruling vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties have already been converted in nature and composition into communist parties. Thus, in the accountability report of the 4th FRELIMO Party Congress, the chairman of the party and president of the country S. Machel stated that Mozambique is already a socialist country.³² The FRELIMO party program adopted at the congress states: "The Marxist-Leninist essence of our party, the transfer of power into the hands of the workers who are in alliance with the peasantry, which is a characteristic feature of our state, and the socialist nature of the socioeconomic transformations guarantee that our country is successfully following the path of socialist revolution."³³

At the moment of the revolutionary upsurge, the revolutionary vanguard leading it can advance tasks for which the objective conditions have not yet matured. Nonetheless, the commencement of the performance of the tasks of construction must be based on actual conditions. The slogan of socialism is a powerful mobilizing force and can raise the aspirations of the revolutionary-democratic leadership to utilize it in the new stage. Nonetheless, the creation of the preconditions of socialism is a lengthy process which acquires directly socialist content only in a sufficiently advanced stage. Intensive socioeconomic backwardness generates a kaleidoscope of "transitional forms," methods, and means of progress. As V.I. Lenin pointed out long ago, it is especially dangerous to hang "socialist" and "communist" labels on processes which are not so in nature but serve only as a preparatory stage, means, or approach for the subsequent transition to socialism. It is no secret that socialism is associated with a certain (sufficiently high) level of people's

well-being in the consciousness of the broad masses. In the present stage of development and in conditions of a stepped-up struggle against domestic and foreign reaction and economic backwardness, progressive regimes still do not have enough means to fundamentally increase the people's standard of living. Therefore, the assertions of bourgeois ideologists about the "communist" nature of power in these countries is focused on disorienting the masses and discrediting the socialist ideal in their eyes.

In explaining the ideological-political processes in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and certain others through the prism of the concept of "Afrocommunism," bourgeois political scientists propose it as an alternative to the theory of socialist orientation. It is precisely for this reason that they try to use for their own purposes the revolutionary vanguard's genuine desire to complete general democratic transformations in the shortest possible time and shift to socialist construction. Western authors attempt to convince revolutionary democrats that the theory of socialist orientation supposedly "minimizes" and "underestimates" the significance of their struggle and reflects doubts in the sincerity of their efforts focused on achieving the socialist ideal on the part of the socialist countries and communist and workers parties. In developing this thesis, the American journal AFRICA REPORT even reproaches "Eastern European ideologists" for lack of desire to grant these regimes the status of "full-fledged socialist states."³⁴ But bourgeois political scientists offer themselves as "objective observers," asserting that they recognize the revolutionary democrats of the group of African countries being examined as "genuine Marxists."

Speaking of the existence of the "Afrocommunist" trend, bourgeois researchers also try to prove that the international communist movement is losing its basic features on the level of the social base, ideology, politics, and other levels and breaking up into "Euro-," "Afro-," and other local "communisms." The concept of "Afrocommunism" attempts to question the fact that Marxism-Leninism is a theoretically integrated international teaching and bring up the question of the theoretical invariability of its basic principles as a consistently scientific set of views instead of the question of the creative application of the positions of Marxist theory to the practices of different countries in light of the dialectics of the general, the particular, and the individual. On the political level, "Afrocommunism" is used to discredit the existing experience of building socialism, decrease the authority of the world socialist system, and split up the anti-imperialist front.

The adherents of this concept believe that, inasmuch as the revolutionary regimes being examined are a reality, they possess substantial stability and the West should abandon the methods of pressure by flagrant force and try to work out a certain modus vivendi in relations with them. In light of this the following circumstances are taken into account: the complexity and heterogeneity of ideological-political processes in the countries of socialist orientation and the incompleteness of the struggle of revolutionary-proletarian and petty bourgeois-reformist trends; the continuing influence of nationalism on the ideas of the revolutionary democrats; and the continuing economic dependence of the countries under study on the developed capitalist states and their inclusion in the world capitalist system. Therefore, they propose a course which, on the one hand, would recognize the fact of existence

in the given stage of "Afrocommunist" regimes and, on the other -- encourage them to withdraw from cooperation with real socialism and take up an "unorthodox," "critical" position in regard to the USSR and the socialist community.

The concept of "Afrocommunism" is disseminated by its authors in Western organs of mass propaganda. Thus, D. Ottaway, who worked as a responsible associate of the African division of the editorial board of the WASHINGTON POST for a long time, in covering on its pages the events in Mozambique and Angola from the positions of "Afrocommunism," emphasized these countries' desire for "independence from the USSR" and wrote about their fears of becoming the object of mythical "Soviet expansion."³⁵

The ideas and recommendations proposed by the creators of the concept of "Afrocommunism" are supported by other representatives of the liberal-bourgeois direction of political science.³⁶

The people on Capitol Hill are inclined to support the idea of recognition of "national communists" if they will retreat from cooperation with the USSR and the socialist community. One of the documents of the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee says: "Whether the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] or FRELIMO leaders are confirmed Marxists is not so important. What is important is that they are trying to be integrated into the Soviet bloc."³⁷

The term "Afrocommunism" was also taken up by openly conservative political scientists. Without going into an analysis of the concept itself (as the authors of the concept formulate it), the conservatives use this term, in the first place, to prove the need for stepped-up pressure on the regimes of the left wing of socialist orientation and, secondly, to assert the incompatibility of the interests of the USSR and these African countries and the lack of any prospect of cooperation between them.³⁸

New phenomena in the socialist orientation and the radicalization of the process of social transformations in the left-wing group of these countries have made it necessary for bourgeois ideologists and political scientists to take these changes into account in formulating and carrying out the course of the countries of the West in Africa. Reliance on pressure by force, which the conservatives call for, by no means always has the desired results. Taking this into account, academic centers in the field of political science in the West are proposing another approach calculated for the distant future and focused on a by-stage "envelopment" of revolutionary-democratic regimes and their gradual internal regeneration. The creators of the concept of "Afrocommunism" also act from these positions. Recognizing the growing popularity of Marxism-Leninism on the continent, they propose the recognition of its "African" variation in the person of the revolutionary regimes in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and the Congo with the condition of the latter's withdrawal from cooperation with the USSR and their shift, in essence, to nationalistic ideological and, most importantly, political positions. The meaning of such recommendations is obvious.

It is precisely reliance on real socialism which has given dynamism and forward motion to the revolutionary movement. Consolidation and expansion of ties with the socialist community is one of the major conditions of successful progress on the path of socialist orientation.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: "Communist Powers in Sub-Saharan Africa," edited by Th. Henriksen, Stanford, 1981; Th. Henriksen, "Some Notes on the National Liberation Wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau," MILITARY AFFAIRS, Vol 16, No 1, 1977; same author, "Marxism in Mozambique," AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Vol 77, No 309, 1978; same author, "Angola, Mozambique, and the Soviet Union: Liberation and the Quest for Influence" in "Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations," edited by W. Weinstein and Th. Henriksen, New York, 1980; F. Holliday, "Afrocommunism: Themes and Variations," SOUTH, No 16, 1982; D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," New York-London, 1981; same authors, "Ethiopia. Empire in Revolution," New York-London, 1980; M. Radu, "Ideologies, Parties, and Foreign Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa," ORBIS, Vol 25, No 4, 1982; Ch. Potholm, "The Theory and Practice of African Politics," New Jersey, 1979; C. Young, "Ideology and Development in Africa," New Haven-London, 1982.
2. D. Newsom, "Communism in Africa, AFRICA REPORT, No 1, 1980, p 44.
3. See: K. Adelman, "African Realities," New York, 1980; D. Albright, "The USSR, Its Communist Allies, and Southern Africa," Pasadena (California), 1980; R. Bissell, "Soviet Interests in Africa -- Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations"; L. Gann, P. Duignan, "Africa South of the Sahara: The Challenge to Western Security," Stanford, 1981; I. Greig, "The Communist Challenge to Africa," Richmond, 1977; M. Rothenberg, "The USSR and Africa. New Dimensions of Soviet Global Power," New York, 1980.
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5. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., p 7.
6. Th. Henriksen, "Some Notes..." op. cit., p 34.
7. "Communist Powers in Sub-Saharan Africa," op. cit., p 115.
8. See: D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., pp 26-29; "Communist Powers in Sub-Saharan Africa," op. cit., p 122; "Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations," op. cit., p 58; M. Radu, op. cit., pp 971, 973.
9. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., p 202.

10. Ibid., p 11.
11. Th. Henriksen, "The People's War in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau," JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES, Vol 14, No 3, 1976, p 389.
12. "Communist Powers in Sub-Saharan Africa," op. cit., p 122.
13. Ch. Potholm, op. cit., p 244.
14. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., p 210; see also: THE WASHINGTON POST, 16 February 1977.
15. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., p 191.
16. "Communism in Africa," Bloomington-London, 1980, p 143.
17. JOURNAL OF AFRICAN MARXISTS, November, Issue 1, 1981, p 144.
18. Ch. Potholm, op. cit., p 241.
19. See: ORBIS, Vol 25, No 1, 1982, p 1,061.
20. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., pp 34-25, 177, 180.
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28. Ch. Potholm, op. cit., p 244.
29. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism," op. cit., p 10.
30. R.A. Ulyanovskiy, "On Revolutionary Democracy, Its State and Political System," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 4, 1984, p 29.
31. Sh. Mazengia, "The Path to Creating a Vanguard Party," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 11, 1984, p 47.
32. "Relatorio do Comité Central do IV Congresso," Maputo, 1983, p 151.

33. "Estatuós e Programa do Partido FRELIMO," Maputo, 1983, p 32; see also: S. Viyeyra, "In the Stage of Fundamental Transformations," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1981, pp 17-20; same author, "Mozambique's Socialist Future," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 11, 1983, p 78.
34. See: AFRICA REPORT, No 3, May-June 1983, p 51.
35. See: THE WASHINGTON POST, 16 February 1977; 17 February 1977; 15 December 1978; 19 March 1979.
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38. K. Adelman, op. cit., pp 142-143; L. Gann, P. Duignan, op. cit., pp 69, 93-94; "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs," Stanford, 1981 pp XYVII-XYIX; C. Legum, "The USSR and Africa: African Environment," PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, No 1, 1978, p 11.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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CSO: 1807/190

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